

Christianity and Crisis

A Bi-Weekly Journal of Christian Opinion

PERIODICAL
MAR 19 1946
DETROIT

Vol. VI, No. 4

March 18, 1946

\$1.50 per year, 10 cents per copy

The "Sucker" Complex

AN American who has recently returned after more than two years in an overcrowded Japanese assembly center for Occidental civilian internees in North China, tells a revealing incident that sheds light on contemporary international attitudes. The 200 Americans in camp had already received their monthly "comfort money" through the Swiss Embassy from their own government, because American funds chanced to be available in Shanghai: but the thousand or more British in the camp had as yet received no such remittance, nor had any of the other 300 Europeans. A monthly tax for kitchen equipment and extras had been levied on all internees alike against their "comfort money"; and a large bill was owing by the kitchen before further purchases could be made. The elected manager of the self-governing kitchen proposed that the fortunate Americans should pay their tax at once so as to meet this bill, should be exempted from later payments toward this installment, and should be guaranteed a refund of their payment if no other "comfort money" came to the other nationals. This reasonable and fair proposition was turned down by some American representatives consulted, on the ground that their fellows would feel that they were being "played for suckers."

The reporter of this incident made the following comment in his journal: "There seems to be a fairly universal inferiority urge that gets the American to consider himself a sucker—and no mental make-up so makes for tightness and lack of generosity as the conviction that you are being made a sucker. Time and again that strange conceit in camp prevented Americans from doing the generous thing."

To those of us who live in sections of this country where leading newspapers and powerful political influences play constantly upon this characteristic American fear, and who sense in it one of the incalculable and threatening factors in the psychology of the post-war world, this incident is especially revealing. It is true of course that Americans for 300 years have been devoting their energies chiefly to the exploration and development of a rich and comparatively isolated continent, and have had far less experience meanwhile in dealing with other nations than have the British or French or Dutch. But it is

also true that during the last 30 years no people on earth have gone to school more intensively in international affairs than our own; and our representatives overseas have during that critical period certainly had their full share of experience in the problems of what has meanwhile become "one world."

It is even more to our present point that no nation has popularized the newer psychology more widely than our own, or had more to say about inferiority complexes. There must be many Americans who have long since begun to suspect that our widespread fear of being taken for "suckers" springs from some such complex; and that the aggressiveness and boastfulness characteristic of some Americans when they travel abroad, may well be over-compensation for some such sense of inferiority.

The American just quoted makes the interesting comment that the American inferiority complex tends to be intellectual rather than moral. Few of us can imagine a Britisher admitting that he cannot look out for himself, no matter how tight the spot—or fearing that anybody else will make a "sucker" out of him. But the American can be self-righteous even while he is afraid of his intellectual inadequacy. He easily assumes the impeccability of his motives and attitudes, and in private conversation as in public worship, finds it not difficult to thank God that he is not as other men—or nations.

The relevance of these attitudes to contemporary discussion of the British loan or the provision of food for hungry Europe, is only too evident. A recent cartoon in the *Chicago Tribune* pictures John Bull, fat with the gout, sick in bed while anxious nurses hover about—President Truman among them. Nearby stands lanky Uncle Sam, who has just given him a blood transfusion, wearing the label, "The World's Champion Donor." Outside the sick-room, waiting their turn for similar transfusions from Uncle Sam, stand Stalin and a long line of others. That cartoon is not only a serious distortion of the economic realities and relationships of the post-war world: it is a characteristic combination of the "sucker" complex with a moral superiority complex.

To Christians of whatever name or sign, the dangers of this combination must be obvious. The fear

of being made a "sucker" dries up the springs alike of imagination and compassion—and the sense of self-righteousness sanctifies the spiritual drought that must result. In a world shrunk small as ours, the searching question of the New Testament must be relevant to nations as well as to individuals: "But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

Here is a field for education and religion to cultivate together. We Americans do need education to open our eyes to the realities of the world in which we and our children have to learn to live at peace with our fellows: but not less do we need religion to humble our complacencies into teachableness, to overcome our human self-centeredness and our adolescent self-distrust, and to show us the responsibilities "under God" of maturity, at a crisis in human history.

C. W. G.

Editorial Notes

A good portion of this issue of our journal is devoted to the proceedings of the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches, held in Geneva in February. We believe that the meeting would have been important in any event, for it drew the non-Catholic Christians of the world together for the first time since the war. But it proved especially important because the quality of the resolutions passed at the meeting proves that there are in the Christian church, despite all the sinful corruptions of history which color the judgments, resources of grace which make the church truly the "body of Christ" and which give it the universality of Christ in whom "there is neither Jew nor Greek."

All of the resolutions passed by the provisional committee express a concern for the suffering multitudes of the world, including our former enemies, which stand in fairly sharp contrast to the self-righteousness of the victorious nations, and which seeks to prevent the justice of the nations from turning into injustice.

We in America would do well in particular to heed the words of admonition spoken to us by the Ecumenical Church. As the richest and most powerful nation on earth we will have the greatest difficulty in understanding the needs of an improverished and starving world. If we do not wield our power with fear and trembling, and if we do not regard our superfluities in a world of want with great uneasiness, we will become the greatest obstacle to world accord.

The simultaneous meeting of the World Council in Geneva and of the Papal Consistory in Rome pre-

sented the world with a sharp contrast between the Catholic and Protestant versions of the Christian life. How modest were those meetings in Geneva, compared to the pomp of the Roman proceedings where a Pope in "his sovereign generosity" deigned to create thirty-two new Cardinals as princes of the church and distributed special gold medals to the diplomats to commemorate the historic occasion. If we, as Protestants, find satisfaction in the contrast, one hopes that our complacency is not prompted by a "sour grapes" psychology. The Roman pomp not only caught the eye, but arrested the attention of the newspaper public as Geneva did not. Some Protestants were very envious of that publicity.

The real contrast lies in the fact that the Roman church is solidly international by reason of a papal system in which democracy has been sacrificed for the sake of unity. Protestant democracy, on the other hand, always hangs on the abyss of anarchy or frequently falls into that abyss. The present ecumenical movement is a hopeful effort to climb out of that abyss without creating an intolerable center of power in the church or without subjecting that power to the temptation of trafficking with temporal power. For us there is always the danger that the body of Christ be so divided that it can not bear the spirit of Christ. For Rome the danger is that the genius of Caesar corrupt the spirit of Christ.

While the organizational weakness of Protestantism is due to a large degree to the sinful pride of the sectarian groups into which Protestantism is divided, we may rightfully claim that some of our weakness is the "weakness of Christ." We do not, at our best, traffic with temporal power for the sake of maintaining our life. The Catholic church on the other hand glorifies itself (in the words of the Papal allocution) with "Christ the Divine victim" even while it engages in the most dubious politics in Spain and Argentina, for instance, for the sake of preserving the kind of power and prestige which only a feudal political system grants the church. When the feudal system begins to decay, the church fights to preserve the system, whether in Mexico, Spain or Argentina, for the sake of preserving its power and prestige in that system. The corruptions and injustices generated by these systems are obscured so long as the feudal order grants the church a position of special privilege. The identification of a church, having such a political program, with "Christ the divine victim" is terribly ironic. It is well to remember, however, that the church, as an institution whether Catholic or Protestant, does not find it easy to validate the principle that "whosoever loseth his life for my sake shall find it." R.N.

The United Nations—Its Challenge to America*

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

FOR the last six weeks I have been taking part in the first meetings of the United Nations. Now, on my return, I could speak merely as a bearer of good tidings. I could tell you of a difficult job of organization done by the Assembly and of proceedings of the Security Council which brought even great powers to alter their position in deference to public opinion. But I prefer to talk of what remains to be done, for that is the heart of the matter.

The United Nations will not achieve peace and security merely because those words are written into its Charter or because the Charter is now implemented by a personnel. These were necessary preliminaries, and they have been well done. But what remains is the essential, that is, to assure that our new world organization will be dedicated to some great purpose.

Alexander Hamilton said, during our Constitutional Convention, that "government ought to contain an active principle." No doubt he had in mind such purposes as the establishment of equal justice, which the English people by the Magna Charta required of their government; or the pursuit of personal liberty, which the founding fathers made a central theme of our Constitution; or the ending of the exploitation of man by man, which the leaders of the Soviet revolution wrote into the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. It is only when men organize to advance their common good that their organization will hold together. Self-interest is a dominant human motive. It can serve as a cement which binds men together in fellowship. It can be a repellent, which sets men one against the other. The art of peaceful statesmanship is to find ways whereby the welfare of the members can be served better by working together than by working apart.

The Security Council

Let us apply that proposition to the United Nations. It has two main organs: The General Assembly and the Security Council. The Security Council is designed to settle disputes. Every political body needs such an organ. But we must not place reliance on that alone. Such an organ can never, itself, be the main organ or the main reliance for order. It can work successfully only as an adjunct to other relationships which make fellowship of positive value.

It might be thought that fear of war would, itself, always make nations want to settle their disputes, so that a settlement tribunal would suffice. It does not work that way. One reason is that it seldom seems that any particular controversy will actually

precipitate war. For example, in the three cases brought before the Security Council, where the Soviet Union, Great Britain and Great Britain and France together were in turn the defendants, each earnestly and, I believe, sincerely contended that its action complained of could not possibly "endanger the maintenance of international peace"—to use the language of the Charter.

Of course, a succession of clashes of national interest may build up a situation which makes war an obvious danger. But nations are seldom run by men who give up the chance of present gain lest, some years after, there be the danger of loss. Almost everywhere national policies are geared to short-term considerations—the term being the term of office of the current incumbents. Furthermore, if the danger of war becomes obvious, that is only because national emotion runs so high and national prestige is so involved, that peaceful settlement is, on account of those very facts, made almost impossible.

Also, there are always in the world some virile, dynamic peoples who are not moved solely by consideration of safety and security. That to some may seem an unpleasant fact. But it is a reality to which we had better accommodate ourselves and our institutions.

Throughout the ages peace-loving people have placed their principal reliance upon fear. They have always been wrong. Fear of war or fear of risk is not enough to bring nations to reconcile their conflicting interests. It is necessary to put a positive premium on fellowship.

The first meetings of the United Nations have made it perfectly clear that the nations, at least the big nations, do not feel it very important to settle their differences. I have listened for hours to representatives on the Security Council accusing others and defending themselves. Most of the time it seemed that the members were using the Council as a forum where through propaganda and clever maneuvers they could score a national gain at the expense of others.

That is a disturbing fact. It is in marked contrast with the situation which prevailed during the war. Then the United Nations were engaged together on a great task of supreme importance to each—the defeat of common enemies. That made fellowship worth while, so much so that it would have been immediately disastrous to have sacrificed that fellowship by such quarreling as was indulged in at London. But now, with the defeat of Germany and Japan, the practical, immediate advantages of fellowship seem to have disappeared. The nations

*Delivered at the Princeton University Washington's Birthday Convocation, February 22nd, 1946.

feel it again expedient to push for gains at the expense of each other and at the risk of discord.

Obviously what is needed is the resumption of common tasks so valuable that fellowship becomes worth preserving. There must be spun a web so precious that no one wants to tear it. It must be made more advantageous to agree than to disagree.

There are some who have not the spirit to face up to the task of organizing common effort for the common good. It seems a slow, hard way, and so it is. In contrast, mechanistic solutions are very tempting. The most popular of these would eliminate the so-called "veto-power" of the Permanent Members of the Security Council.

At the present time it is wholly unrealistic to talk in such terms. The Permanent Members of the Security Council have demonstrated, at their first meeting, a much greater degree of distrust than was anticipated at San Francisco. Then the Permanent Members declared that they would use the veto only sparingly and when major issues were involved. Actually, at London, the veto power was invoked three times by the Soviet Union. Once it was used, informally, in connection with the election of the Secretary General. The second time it was used to prevent the formal dismissal by the Security Council of charges against Great Britain in relation to Greece, charges which all the members but the complainant felt unfounded. It was used a third time to prevent the adoption of a resolution calling for the withdrawal of French and British troops from Lebanon and Syria, the reason being that the resolution seemed to the Soviet to be too mild. It is natural that the Soviet Union should use the veto more than any other permanent member, for it has developed few ties of fellowship with other countries. That, no doubt, explains why it was the representatives of the Soviet Union who, at the opening of the Assembly formally gave notice that no change such as the elimination of the veto could be tolerated. But the Soviet Union is not the only permanent member which is unwilling to subject its vital interests to the arbitrary disposition of the other members of the Council.

Let us not be deluded into thinking that there is a solution by the easy way of changing a few words on a piece of paper. The Security Council is not, and cannot now be made a world government acting by majority vote. It is a tool, upon which each great power keeps a restraining hand. It can operate to settle disputes only if other processes and other relationships make such settlements seem expedient. That brings us to the other great organ of the United Nations, the General Assembly.

The General Assembly

The Charter gives the Assembly enormous possibilities of developing an active principle. It can seek to advance human welfare in all of its phases—

spiritual, cultural and material. It can promote basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. It can fight disease. It can help to solve the vast colonial problems. It can develop world trade. It is given almost unlimited opportunity to advance the welfare of the member peoples. Thereby it could create a fellowship of common effort which would make the parties want to settle such differences as emerged in the Security Council.

But will the Assembly take advantage of its opportunities. It will not do so merely because a power to do so is written into the Charter. It will do so only if the nations which make up the Assembly in fact endow it with a dynamic purpose.

That is the big task that still remains to be done and it falls heavily upon the United States. In much of the world the peoples have been drained by the physical and moral strains of war. In most of the world the daily problems of keeping alive absorb the energy of the people. There are a few individuals, chiefly from small countries, who already have impressed their spirit on the Assembly. But they cannot alone supply the amount of spiritual drive that is needed to galvanize the United Nations into a positive force for human welfare. What is needed is the spiritual power which could be supplied by the American people. The success or failure of the United Nations depends upon that more than any other single factor.

Unhappily the fact is that at this critical juncture the people of the United States have no great faith which moves them. We are in no mood to seize on the United Nations as an agency for accomplishing some great purpose in the world.

The United States representatives to the First Assembly were a so-called "instructed" delegation. We were to carry out such instructions as we might receive from the President. Actually, except for organizational matters, the delegation received no instructions. It was given no substantive task to perform, no great objective to achieve. It is true that this First Session of the Assembly was supposed to be given over primarily to tasks of organization. Thus our official position could be justified as a matter of logic. But cold logic does not restrain those who are passionately dedicated to some great purpose. If there had been anything which the American people really wanted, they would have gotten it under way at this first meeting of the Assembly. The very fact that we were so reasonable shows the low level of our faith and of our purpose. We were apathetic.

That would not have happened fifty years ago or one hundred years ago. Then the American people were imbued with a great faith. We acted under a sense of moral compulsion, as a people who had a mission to perform in the world. Our conduct was largely determined by a religious belief that every human being had a God-given possibility of spiritual development and that to realize this was man's chief

earthly aim. Accordingly we sought to organize a society which would promote the spiritual development of the individual. We wanted him to have not only spiritual freedom, but the surrounding conditions of intellectual and economic opportunity without which spiritual growth is seldom realized. That was "the great American experiment." It was designed, not only for ourselves, but others. We sought, through conduct, example and influence, to promote everywhere the cause of human freedom. We availed of every opportunity to spread our gospel throughout the world. In those days no international conferences were held without the United States being a purposeful participant.

That mood has passed, with the result that at this critical time we may fail the world. We are, materially, playing a good part in keeping others physically alive and in helping to get their economy going again. We have, intellectually, played a good part in devising a world organization which well reflects the present political realities and possibilities. But spiritually we are lacking. We seem incapable of breathing into that organization the spirit needed to make it a living body.

Most of us, no doubt, would like to see our nation possessed of spiritual power. We had it once, but how now can we recapture it?

Faith Is Contagious

I suggest that there is no mystery about that. The way to get faith is to expose one's self to the faith of others. Faith is a contagious thing. A strong faith, rooted in fact and reason, inevitably spreads, if contacts are provided. If, therefore, we want our faith renewed, we should resume contact with those who have had it. The Bible is the greatest book, because, as Paul pointed out, it is a story of faith. It recounts lapses from faith and their consequences, and revival and restoration. Most of all, it is the story of men and women who lived by faith and died in faith, bequeathing it to successors, who ever moulded it into something finer, truer and more worthy. Our national history is also rich in the story of men who, through faith, wrought mightily. Two of the greatest were from Princeton. It was James Madison who saw the vision of a federal system and played a great part in bringing it into reality. It was Woodrow Wilson who saw the vision of a world organization and played a great part in bringing that into reality. We are, indeed, compassed about by a great crowd of witnesses.

What our people need is more contact with the great faiths of the past. That is something our schools and colleges can provide. Indeed, those who founded our older colleges did so with the primary purpose of assuring that we would always have men of strong beliefs, who would be teachers and leaders of men. They thought in terms of the Christian ministry and also, notably in the case of the College

of New Jersey, of leaders in the field of statesmanship.

We have largely abandoned the idea that our schools and colleges should produce men of faith. In part, that idea has given place to a materialistic and utilitarian conception. Many of our colleges now consider that their main purpose is to teach technical skills. In part the original conception has surrendered to a feeling that it was reactionary or illiberal to carry forward the faith of our fathers. The result has not been a better faith, but a replacement of faith by apathy or cheap emotionalism.

These degenerating forces have operated on our youth long enough to alter the character of our people. We have lost our sense of purpose and our capacity to inspire and to uplift. That deficiency pervades all phases of our foreign relations. It makes us ineffective in our international dealings. It makes us impotent to breathe life into the United Nations. If in consequence, our people perish, that will merely fulfill one of those prophecies which we have found it convenient to forget.

Happily, we still have some time. How much time no one can say, but at least we need not become panicky merely because we now see realities of a kind which have always existed, but which, in the past, diplomacy used to keep concealed. On the other hand, we have no time to waste. The pattern of the future is already taking form, and the form is not a pleasing one.

So it is that I welcome this occasion to speak to this great college. For 200 years your example has influenced our nation's past. It can influence our nation's future. May you, I pray, work to renew in us a faith.

Support of Government's Plan for Feeding Starving Peoples Urged

A call to support the government's plan for feeding the starving peoples of the world was issued to the "Christian forces of the nation" in a joint appeal signed by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the official heads of 17 Protestant denominations.

"The eagerly awaited opportunity for the churches has come," the statement said. "Feeding a hungry world is too great a task for private agencies. It calls for action by the nation as a whole."

Pointing out the President has summoned Americans to the sacrifices necessary to save millions in Asia and Europe, the church leaders urged that each denomination record approval of the governmental action at the White House and with members of Congress.

"We must act immediately so that the President's constructive recommendation may receive the necessary support and that thereby the hungry may be fed," the declaration concluded.

Resolutions by the World Council of Churches

We are publishing the four primary resolutions of the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches passed at the February meeting in Geneva. These resolutions are significant not only for their content, but also because they represent resolutions of what is probably the first international meeting in which members of former enemy countries participated fully with the members of other nations.

I. Regarding the Distress in Europe and Asia:

(1) The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches, viewing the desperate situation of millions of refugees and displaced persons, who lack homes, food, fuel and wage-earning employment, places on record its profound concern for the suffering peoples and its earnest desire that every possible step be taken by intergovernmental, governmental and voluntary agencies to mitigate present distress, and to promote the resettlement and rehabilitation of uprooted populations without discrimination.

(2) The committee notes with gratitude the action by certain governments, notably those of the United States and Britain, to limit supplies of foodstuffs to their own citizens so as to assure to the fullest extent the sharing of food with continental Europe and Asia.

(3) The committee earnestly requests the special committee appointed by the General Assembly of the United Nations to make provision for the carrying forward and extension of the task of relief and rehabilitation in Europe when the activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration come to a close at the end of this year, and in particular to direct attention to the import of seed, corn, fertilizers, livestock and agricultural implements so that adequate preparations can be made for future harvests.

(4) The committee requests the churches associated with the World Council of Churches, in furtherance of the essential question of the responsibility of caring for those who suffer through the present distress, to maintain and extend to the utmost of their ability the ministries of material and spiritual relief to the suffering populations in Europe and in Asia.

II. Regarding the Transfer of Populations:

(1) Whereas the Potsdam Conference agreed that any transfers of populations should be effected in an orderly and humane manner; and

Whereas that conference recognized that the influx of a large number of Germans into Germany would increase the burden already resting on the authorities in that country,

Considered that an examination of the problem should be made with special regard to the equitable distribution of those Germans among the several zones of occupation; and

Instructed that an estimate be made of the time and rate at which transfers could be carried out, having regard to the existing situation in Germany; and

Whereas the conference requested that further extensions be suspended pending this examination; and

Whereas these proposals of the Potsdam Conference have not been carried out but, on the contrary, the transfers of populations have brought great hardship, distress and suffering to millions of persons, including large numbers of women and children, and have

resulted in diseases and death for an appalling proportion of them; and

Whereas this situation is an offense to the Christian conscience and has aroused the concern which Christian churches must feel for suffering humanity:

Therefore, the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches, while recognizing that some effort has recently been made to observe the conditions laid down in the Potsdam Agreement, nevertheless urges the Allied Governments and the United Nations Organization to take immediate steps to assure

(1) That adequate provision be made for the relief of those who have already been transferred and are in great need and distress;

(2) That any further transfers be carried out in accordance with the Potsdam proposals, in an orderly and humane manner, and, in particular, that proper means of transport, personal protection and adequate supplies of food en route be provided, and suitable arrangements made in advance for the reception of the deportees at their destinations; and

(3) That the United Nations Organization make provision for the oversight of the appropriate settlement of all transferred population in their new home.

Furthermore, whereas the policies of the Allied powers sharing in the occupation of Germany are confused and inconsistent and are today clearly directed toward such an extreme limitation of German industry and export as cannot be enforced except by long military occupation,

The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches is persuaded that this policy, aggravated as it is by the compulsory transfer of a large number of people from other countries into a smaller Germany, ought to be re-examined lest, by condemning millions of Germans either to be fed by charity for an indefinite period or to die of starvation until the population fits the new frontiers, it bring ruin not only upon Germany but on Europe.

The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches further urges upon the Allied Governments and the UNO to declare and implement the long-established rights of asylum for political refugees who have been guilty of no crime and to insure that they be not forcibly repatriated against their will.

III. On Anti-Semitism and the Jewish Situation:

The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches records its deep sense of horror at the unprecedented tragedy which has befallen the Jewish people in consequence of the Nazi attempt to exterminate European Jewry and its heartfelt sympathy with the survivors of this tragedy and their fellow Jews throughout the world.

The committee recognizes with thankfulness the faithful witness of many Christians who, at great peril

to themselves, made their protest against anti-Semitism and gave shelter to its victims.

It also acknowledges with penitence the failure of the churches to overcome in the spirit of Christ those factors in human relationship which have created and now contribute to this evil which threatens both Jewish and Christian communities.

The world committee therefore urgently calls upon Christians throughout the world to combat this evil by all the means within their power and especially in the following ways:

A. By testifying against the principles and practices of anti-Semitism as a denial of the spirit and teaching of our Lord.

B. By ministering wherever possible to the needs of those who still suffer the consequences of anti-Semitism, discrimination or persecution.

C. By giving their support to the efforts to find acceptable homes for Jews who have been displaced or who can no longer remain where they are.

D. By cooperating with Jews in a reciprocal attempt to remove the causes of friction in personal and community relationship.

E. By promoting understanding and good-will among

Christians and Jews so that they may bear a common witness to the obligations of neighborliness to all men and to the claims of righteousness, truth and love as the foundation of a well-ordered human society.

IV. On Christians of Hebrew Ancestry:

The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches affirms that for all Christians who have Jewish antecedents the church of Christ should be as truly a home as for all other Christians and that they should be equally assured of a full share in the rights and duties pertaining to the fellowship and service of the church.

In times of persecution and of privation the Christians of Hebrew ancestry should be assured that the church will always be a refuge for them, whether in their own fatherland or in another country or in migration to a new home, and that her ministrations of both material and spiritual relief be exercised on their behalf.

This affirmation is based on the teaching and the message of Holy Scripture that the church, in her essential nature, is a universal society united in her one Lord.

The World Church: News and Notes

The World Council of Churches in Geneva

The provisional committee of the World Council of Churches met in a memorable and important meeting in Geneva February 21-23. Among the actions taken were the following:

In a move to broaden its leadership, the Committee elected five co-chairmen in place of its single chairman, the late Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1944.

The new co-chairmen are: Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, present Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Marc Boegner, president of the National Council of Protestant Churches in France; Greek Orthodox Archbishop Germanos, of England; Archbishop Erling Eidem of the Swedish Lutheran Church; and Dr. John R. Mott, honorary chairman of the International Missionary Council.

Dr. Boegner, who also was chairman of the Administrative Committee, looms as a major figure among the five co-chairmen.

The Administrative Committee, of which Dr. G. K. A. Bell, Anglican Bishop of Chichester, is vice-chairman, includes Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Dr. Alfonse Koechlin, of Switzerland; and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Madeleine Barot, director of the CIMADE movement in France, was named chairman of the Council's youth commission, and Dr. Van Dusen was elected head of the Council's Study Commission.

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary, reported that the consolidated budget of the World Council for the calendar year 1946 will be more than \$4,000,000, about two-thirds of which is being raised in the United States. Largest single contributor to the budget

is the Lutheran Church. Most of the money will be used for material aid to countries affected by the war and for relief of refugees and prisoners of war.

Ecumenical Training Center

Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, of the Netherlands Reformed Church, has been elected as director of the Ecumenical Training Center which will shortly be established under Council auspices in Geneva. Dr. Kraemer has not definitely accepted the post. He said he must "consider my duties to Holland" before making a final decision.

The Center is being financed through a gift of \$1,000,000 from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who specified that half the sum should be spent on maintaining a layman's training center on the continent sponsored by the World Council.

Commission on International Relations

A Commission on International Relations, which has been given a mandate to increase the churches' influence in world political affairs, has been formed. Four leading American churchmen were appointed to the Commission, and it is expected that either John Foster Dulles of New York, or Dr. G. K. A. Bell will be named chairman.

The Commission's over-all purpose will be "to stimulate the churches of all nations to a more vigorous expression of the demands of the Christian conscience to the political policies of governments." It will co-ordinate work now being done in this field by various churches through such agencies as the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace established in the United States.

American churchmen named to the Commission are: Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, professor at the Union Theological Seminary of New York; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist, president of the Federal Council

Christianity and Crisis

A Bi-Weekly Journal of Christian Opinion
601 West 120th St., New York 27, N. Y.

EDITORIAL BOARD

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, *Chairman*

JAMES C. BAKER	JOHN A. MACKAY
JOHN C. BENNETT	RHODA E. McCULLOCH
CHARLES W. GILKEY	FRANCIS P. MILLER
F. ERNEST JOHNSON	EDWARD L. PARSONS
UMPHREY LEE	HOWARD C. ROBBINS
HENRY SMITH LEIPER	HENRY P. VAN DUSEN
GLOSTER MORRIS, <i>Secretary of Editorial Board</i>	

of Churches; John Foster Dulles, and the Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Albany, New York.

Others proposed for membership are: C. Van Asbek, of Holland; Frank Bednar, of Czechoslovakia; Bishop Eivind Berggrav, primate of the Norwegian State Lutheran Church; Dr. Archibald Craig, secretary of the British Council of Churches; A. Ahlberg, of Sweden; Sir Alfred Zimmern, of Britain; Dr. G. K. A. Bell; Hamilcar Alivisados, of Greece; and Professor Ellul, of France.

The Commission was instructed to arrange an international conference of church leaders, which will probably meet early next August, to consider ways and means in which "the witness and work of the churches in the field of international affairs and world order can be made most effective in this crucial time." Such a conference was proposed last November by the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. Location of the international meeting will be decided by the World Council's Geneva Staff.

World Council Meeting in 1948

The work of the Council thus far has been under the authority of a provisional committee. The final organization of the World Council will take place in a meeting in August, 1948. Invitations have been received from Denmark, Holland, and the United States for this meeting. It will probably be held in Europe. The theme of this first international council will be "The Order of God and the Present Disorder of Man." The assembly will be attended by about 450 delegates.

Council Issues Appeal to U. S. Churches

In a resolution adopted at its final sessions, the provisional committee appealed to churches in the United States and other countries for the "utmost help" in the

next few years, so that congregational life and church activity may be reestablished in Europe. The resolution also urged continental churches to do everything possible to take even a larger place than they formerly held in the life of the nations to which they belong.

One of the final acts of the meeting was to approve plans for the setting up of an ecumenical loan fund through which money will be made available for urgent church needs in war-affected countries. (RNS)

European Church Relief

Returning from a three weeks flying trip to Europe during which he surveyed European Church relief and reconstruction, Dr. Robbins W. Barstow, Director of the Commission for World Council Service, 297 Fourth Avenue, is telling American Church leaders here that "the reestablishment of religious and cultural patterns to human life on the European continent is a bigger job than any of us had realized."

Dr. Barstow is consulting denominational heads and the relief leaders of the churches in an attempt to estimate how heavy a burden American Protestants are ready to carry in the current effort to rebuild the spiritual life on the continent. He will return to Geneva in the latter part of March to report the reaction of American Churches. He will make the report to an over-all planning conference, in Geneva, of the directors of the reconstruction committees of the giving and receiving countries.

Communication

Harrow, Middlesex, England.

Dear Sir:

Having just received the January 7 issue of *Christianity and Crisis*, I have read your "Statement of Purpose" with the greatest interest; paragraph 1 in particular, is a striking statement.

I am very glad to hear that you propose to continue publication: as far as I am concerned I consider this essential—in fact I am astonished to hear of the mere suggestion of closing down. Our own *Christian News-Letter* has in my opinion a most important permanent role to play in our life and I cannot but believe that the same applies equally as strong to *Christianity and Crisis*.

Some of the notes on conditions in Europe in the December 24th and January 7th issues struck me as particularly opposite, having myself just returned from a three months' tour on the Continent which made a deep impression upon me.

Yours faithfully,

E. LOEWY.

Author in This Issue

John Foster Dulles is one of the outstanding American leaders on international affairs. He is not only the chairman of the Federal Council Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, but a member of the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. We are glad to publish his estimate of the first meeting of the United Nations Organization—an estimate which he first presented at Princeton University.

Periodical Division
Detroit Public Library
5201 Woodward Ave.
Detroit 2, Mich.

650 1-47